752 /398 cont./
The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

515 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

/399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumination. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necessary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

373

[202]

372 The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (63).

63. For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

The Yamana could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (64).

64. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/416 cont./
281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uswúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
237 as uswúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but
[136] a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

● 515
356 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

356
•56 /418 cont./
beings, glistening with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the jumbled disorder of their effects inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their smelly canoes crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural necessity of a clean dwelling? Continuous privation dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and insufficiency of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other peoples could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the restlessness of a life of ceaseless wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (92) that in no slight measure deceives

92. George Forster (b) :324 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornaments and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ocher."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its inadequacy. Ever helpful Mother Nature advantageously compensates them for much that they themselves leave undone.

/417 cont./ 1. Body Care

•515 The Indian knows nothing about taking care of himself merely from a sense of cleanliness. His cares about the daily necessities of life take greater precedence. He is used to thick crusts of dirt and a loathsome smell of blubber on his skin and is not aware of them at all. He does not wash with any kind of regularity. Everyone gets up from his pitiful bed early in the morning and simply wipes his sleepy, sticky eyes dry with his index finger. Some like to stroke their cheeks gently with the palms of both hands. It is seldom that anyone goes down to the nearby brook and dashes cold water into his face. At times, however, if a person finds himself covered with the dust of ashes or with dirt from the ground picked up while hunting and working, he will feel the necessity of stepping into the nearest pool and rinsing off his whole body. He rubs himself with the palms of his hands and with a tuft of beard moss or scraped wood shavings, cñšr$, or even with a wet ball of moss. Afterwards he dries himself near the radiant heat of the hut fire (cf. Hyades [q]:348).

Men do not like to dive into the water and bathe. Women go into the water more often to gather the lower marine fauna or to swim to the canoe. On very rare hot summer days a few men sometimes splash on the beach, without venturing more than two or three steps into the water. This is done primarily, however, /418/ to refresh oneself in an effort to withstand the unusual heat (93).

93. According to Hyades (q):348: "during the summer when the weather is fine, they sometimes bathe in the sea, but simply as recreation" /translated from French/. Furthermore he also reports (g):38: "Only on rare occasions, when the temperature was relatively warm, did the French [of the Mission Scientifique] have an opportunity to observe the Fuegian women jump into the water for fun and play about in it gaily without any particular purpose. They never seemed to dive, however, as has often been said."

/418 cont./

•515 The water of the sea and of brooks is always cold. Only rarely does it warm up somewhat in shallow bays.

These people often have to work in the water and are frequently drenched in heavy showers. That is probably why they have no inclination to make further use of the wet element. Hyades confirms this (q) :348: "Primarily it is rain or accidental immersions in the water of the sea that makes the Fuegians clean" /translated from French/. It is always dangerous to venture far out into the ocean. The many little torrents and streams are not deep enough to invite bathing. According to European opinion, it takes the insensibility of an Indian to go about for days with all that dirt and dust and smoke (94). However, the fresh air which

94. What Snow (b):263 says is not in the least exaggerated: "The Fuegians are excessively dirty, and contact with them might well cause a man to shudder" /cited in English/.

constantly brushes the naked body stimulates the skin beneficially and covers up other discomfort.

Everyone much prefers a dry rub. This involves the entire body. If a person's dirty skin itches, he takes the gray, greasy clay that is found in some places, or the pale yellow kind that is more scarce, or even a rusty-brown clay, and mixes it with water and saliva in the cup of his hand to make a thick paste which he smears on his whole body. This gradually dries near the hut fire and, with the hand flat, is rubbed off in the form of a fine powder. This procedure cleanses like soap. Above all, it removes from the skin the greasy sheen from all the blubber, as well as the surface tan caused by the suffocating smoke. If the natives cannot find the gray clay nearby, they use a calcareous, almost powder-like sand, which, however, does not cleanse as thoroughly.

These people lack suitable material for drying themselves. If they are wet, they move close to the fire, and the radiating heat soon removes all the dampness from their bodies, or they hold their faces and hands over the fire. Sometimes they reach for
515 a dry ball of moss if it is available. They prefer chiff, a ball of
534 fine, loose, yellow shavings from the large-leafed barberry

515 /418 cont./
524 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), buma, celia, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this
[854] substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
515 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the
340 face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker
[147] than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/419 cont./

147 382 515 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (96), and

> 96. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these saloons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

515 13% Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

vary, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a similar, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[End of footnotes on page 81.—Ed.]

/420 cont./

136 515 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor contiently scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimenti) [177] has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest, the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

The head hair of the Tasmans is naturally black, stiff, [178] and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and 362. lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):194 expresses himself in more general terms.

/422 cont./

142 302 "they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (1834:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

[423]

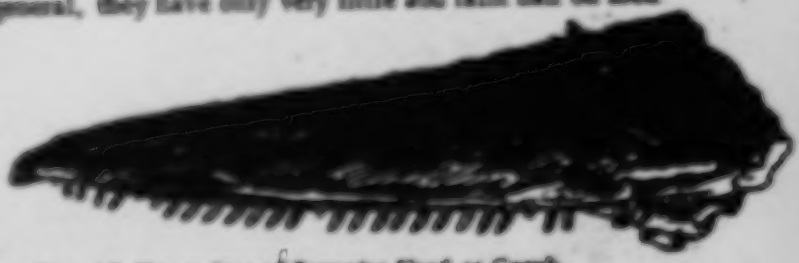

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies. In this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

177 •56 342 Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

342 342 To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ŏ́ŏ́ten. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /422/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

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412

/423 cont./
describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

[857]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither platted nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this ttttúku ukúnim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

•515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[177]

/426 cont./

514 a bad smell would be put out. They use a shell and a handful of sand, but they prefer a bunch of grass and a ball of moss. It [854] is with the latter objects or with a tuft of feathers that the mother cleans her infant (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. Hyades (f):558 supplements this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" /translated from French/.

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compete with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 224).

● 515 Like the Selk'nam, our Yamana have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the uninterrupted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take turns. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and no one minds. When they spit, they have an amazing aim; even a person stretched out on his bed expectorates straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and bespatters his neighbors who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They squirt the liquid saliva with a hissing noise through their incisors which they press lightly together.

These Indians, quite openly and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and grimacing, they poke around for a long time in their distended nostrils. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which shoots the mucus to the ground. Often it runs out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children use the flat of their hand and move it up

/426 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

362 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently; /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[262] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [515] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/718 cont./

773 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

857 515 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, surfy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/716 cont./

854 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never for-
515 gets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in
854 almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol.
513 I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, or with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she na-
turally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

X 881 785 866

/858 cont./ of going on with the rest of the čiéxaus celebration.

In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the uswála are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

X 881 866

3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a program for the čiéxaus celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the uswála. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the čiéxaus lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

X 881 866 515

279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

/859 cont./

X881 866 [515]

themselves in the morning. Most of them use soap, which they also permit the candidates to use. Almost every day all the occupants of the hut arrange it so that after the dawn they all wash themselves at the same time. This is usually done in conjunction with making everyone's sleeping place orderly throughout.

I also learned from old Pedro that formerly very often in the middle of the night, sometimes as an interruption of the already very short sleep, the male uŭwáala were led to the beach, where they were obliged to take a bath, move about in the water for some time, and, following the example of the men accompanying them, carry on the monotonous singing of the čiéxaus hut in an audible voice. This repeated diving into the water served to harden them physically. The singing, however, was supposed to prove to Yetáita and all the malevolent spirits who approach the Great Hut that the candidates were constantly vigilant. During my first initiation we three uŭwáala were driven down to the water twice in the dead of night. The other two had to take off their clothes and dive into the cold water several times. I was spared this torture, but at any rate I was supposed to become acquainted with it.

[533]

Not content merely to curtail the time for sleeping, they also prescribe the position of the body during sleep. The position assumed by the uŭwáala for sitting is retained as he lies down on his side, that is to say, arms interlocked and legs drawn up. There is nothing placed under the head to raise it. Everyone falls asleep immediately from utter exhaustion. Inadvertently the weary one stretches himself, unfolds his interlocked arms, and extends his legs. He cannot avoid touching his neighbor in doing so, for the space is very crowded. In any case, one of the sponsors beside him is always awake and gives the uŭwáala a push so that he wakes up. Immediately he must pull in his limbs again.

In this less than friendly manner the candidate's already scantily apportioned sleep is sometimes painfully interrupted time and again, but it is done intentionally. During my first initiation this torture almost /860/ brought me to the point of despair. One

/910 cont./

X881 the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances
577 each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free
513 to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements,
[152] loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a
[198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hṑ, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hṑ. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

X881 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may
513 never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hṑ which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immedi-
X881 ately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down
515 again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uíwaala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

/911 cont./
881 the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults 881 were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they 264 personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during 264 the ciexaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as 869 secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetáita or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/952 cont./
X881 the uswála, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiéxaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswála and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiéxaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 608 431 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long period of the čiéxaus trial they have successfully led their hétakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to [illegible] ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone imbalim (ibelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also X881 608 431 receives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

/954/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hétakuxeolan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

The ward receives these three items as mementos. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswíala shows each

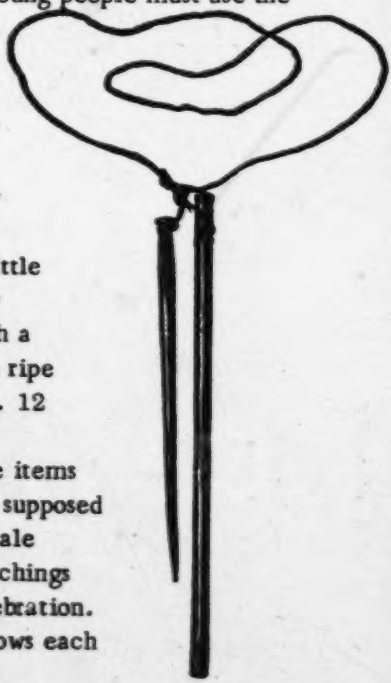

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
515 moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
516 natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1014 cont./

576 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing
575 that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 465), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

514 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally
521 takes place during ordinary visits. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.